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PROTECTION AND SECURITY OF SMALL STATES

Report of the Secretary-General

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. The item entitled "Protection and security of small States" was initially included on the agenda of the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly in 1989 at the request of Maldives (A/44/192).

2. Twenty-three delegations belonging to all the regional groups and representing both small and large countries took part in the deliberations on the item two years ago. They recognized that small States may be particularly vulnerable to external threats and acts of interference in their internal affairs and shared a number of concerns and concrete suggestions contained in the Maldives explanatory memorandum as to the need to reinforce United Nations preventive functions and strengthen its ability to enhance the security of small States. The significance of the obligation of all States to respect the principles of the Charter of the United Nations was stressed in that regard.

3. The debate also indicated, however, a divergence of views with regard to the issue of protection and security of small States. There were certain reservations voiced over the draft resolution on the item. A point was also made that the adoption of the resolution on the subject should not in any way inflict any additional financial expenses on the United Nations.

4. At its forty-fourth session, the General Assembly adopted without a vote resolution 44/51 of 8 December 1989, entitled "Protection and security of small States". In paragraphs 4 and 5 of the resolution, the General Assembly urged the Secretary-General to pay special attention to monitoring the security situation of small States and to consider making use of the provisions of Article 99 of the Charter; and invited the Secretary-General to explore ways and means, within the United Nations and in accordance with the Charter, of preserving the security of small States. In paragraph 6 of the resolution, the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to "submit a report to it at its forty-sixth session on the implementation of the present resolution".

II. ACTIVITIES CARRIED OUT IN CONNECTION WITH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 44/51

5. Pursuant to paragraph 5 of resolution 44/51, the Secretary-General, on 16 July 1990, addressed a note verbale to the Governments of Member States, transmitting the text of the resolution, and drawing attention, in particular, to the invitation contained therein to explore the ways and means of preserving the security of small States. In view of his reporting responsibility under paragraph 6 of the resolution, the Secretary-General requested Member States to convey to him by 15 October 1990 the observations and suggestions regarding the task set out in paragraph 5 of the resolution.

6. Pursuant to paragraph 3 of the resolution, by which the General Assembly appealed "to the relevant regional and international organizations to provide assistance when requested by small States for the strengthening of their security", the Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs sent, also on 16 July 1990, a letter, on behalf of the Secretary-General, to relevant regional and international organizations seeking their comments and/or suggestions regarding possible ways and means of preserving and enhancing the security of small States.

7. These communications established a deadline for submitting replies requested therein for 15 October 1990.

8. By a letter dated 28 August 1990, the Government of Maldives requested the Secretary-General to explore the possibility of extending the aforementioned deadline to provide for additional time to conduct consultations of the item during the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

9. Taking into account the developments in the world at that juncture which have demonstrated the vulnerability of small States to external threats and aggression, it was considered to be advisable to heed the request by the Government of the Republic of Maldives and to extend the initial deadline until 15 January 1991.

10. Subsequently, an additional reminder was sent, on 21 February 1991, establishing a final deadline for 1 April 1991.

11. As at 31 August 1991, 22 replies had been received from Member States, namely, the Bahamas, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Cyprus, Fiji, Finland, the Gambia, Germany, Ghana, Guyana, Maldives, Malta, Oman, Romania, Singapore, Solomon Islands, the Syrian Arab Republic, the Ukraine, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Replies had also been received from the following international organizations: International Labour Organisation, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, International Civil Aviation Organization, World Health Organization, International Telecommunication Union and World Meteorological Organization.

12. The substantive parts of the replies received from Member States as at 31 August 1991 are reproduced below in annex I. Any further replies will be issued as addenda to the present document.

13. The substantive parts of the replies received from international organizations as at 31 August 1991 are reproduced below in annex II. Any further replies will be issued as addenda to the present document.

14. The Government of Maldives organized, in association with the Commonwealth Secretariat, at Malé, from 5 to 6 May 1991, a Workshop on the protection and security of small States. The Workshop was attended by a group of small States of the Commonwealth consisting of Brunei Darussalam, Cyprus, the Gambia, Maldives, Malta, Mauritius, Papua New Guinea, Seychelles, Singapore, Solomon Islands and Sri Lanka. In addition, representatives from the Commonwealth Secretariat, Caribbean Community (CARICOM) (Grenada), the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) and the United Nations Secretariat participated in the Workshop. The recommendations of the Workshop, as transmitted by the Government of Maldives, are reproduced below in annex III.

III. VIEWS EXPRESSED BY MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

15. Pursuant to paragraph 6 of General Assembly resolution 44/51, the Secretary-General held consultations with the members of the Security Council seeking their views on possible ways and means to preserve the security of small States.

16. In the course of the consultations, the members of the Council indicated that they attached importance to the issue of security of small States, recognizing their inherent vulnerability to external threats and interference. At the same time, various opinions were expressed with regard to possible ways and means of enhancing and protecting the security of small States as well as with regard to the concept of small States. Several members of the Council noted that there was still no clear-cut definition as to which States qualified as small and thus might deserve particular United Nations protection and assistance. A question arose in that regard whether it was advisable to consider the creation of a formal special status for small States as a way of officially recognizing the particular problems facing such States and ensuring adequate attention to them. Some delegations saw little merit in establishing a special status for small States with regard to protection of their security, maintaining that the United Nations was based on the principle of sovereign equality of all States and had been providing for the security of all States without exception. Thus the appropriate way to enhance the security of small States was to improve overall security measures through increasing the efficiency of the United Nations bodies responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security. On the other hand, several other members of the Council argued that by their nature small States were particularly susceptible to any type of security threat. A point was made that the small States were especially vulnerable to territorial incursions since these could be mounted not only by other States and government forces but also by mercenaries in the pay of externally based groups or, for that matter, by terrorists, including drug traffickers. For those reasons, it was considered that providing small States with a special status was worth pondering.

17. As to the possible ways and means of enhancing the security of small States, some delegations believed that the main component of a security structure for small States should be the United Nations, whose existing machinery made it possible to coordinate effectively efforts to find the best solutions to security problems of all States without exception, large and small. It was indicated that there was no urgent need for the creation of a new institutional machinery aimed specifically at small States. An argument was advanced in this regard that recent events and developments in the world have established the ability of the international community to take a prompt and effective action for the protection of a small State. The way the United Nations had handled the crisis situation in the Gulf amply demonstrated, in their view, that the existing provisions and mechanisms of the United Nations were adequate for that purpose. A few delegations, however, stressed that to be genuinely effective, the existing international collective security system as envisaged in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations needed to be explored and further improved so that its proper functioning in all instances of an international dispute was ensured. At the same time, however, certain delegations were sceptical on that point and inclined to believe that even if the proper machinery were developed, it would not necessarily mean that this machinery would be promptly and vigorously invoked with due effectiveness in all conflict situations. There was also an understanding among the Council members that the unconditional respect, by all States, of the fundamental principles of the Charter, their strict adherence to international law, including the principles of sovereign equality of States and territorial integrity constituted the best guarantee for the security of all States.

18. Elaborating on possible ways and means further to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations machinery in working out real security guarantees for small States, some members of the Council considered particularly relevant the strengthening of preventive capabilities of the Council and the United Nations as a whole to be utilized for preventive diplomacy to avert conflicts at their initial stages. It was suggested that devising measures to ensure the timely identification of evolving threats and, ideally, the establishment, under the auspices of the United Nations, of a system for the early prevention of conflicts could help solve the problem. One delegation suggested exploring the possibility of the preventive deployment of United Nations personnel in areas of possible conflict as a deterrent or even as a trip-wire that could guarantee setting in motion preplanned enforcement actions under Chapter VII of the Charter. It was also pointed out that the Office of the Secretary-General could play an expanded preventive role within the framework of Article 99 of the Charter, which empowered the Secretary-General to bring to the attention of the Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security. They believed that, in cases of what might be termed evolving low-level security threats, the Secretary-General's capacity for dispatching fact-finding missions could be more widely used if a country that felt itself under threat of attack from another country so requested. Such fact-finding missions could themselves serve as a form of deterrence against a potential aggressor, and could also serve as an incentive to disputing countries to engage in negotiations for a peaceful settlement. One

delegation, however, argued that there should be no need for the Secretary-General to invoke Article 99 of the Charter more than sparingly, contending that other existing mechanisms were adequate.

19. The relevance of Article 51 of the Charter, envisaging the inherent right of a State of individual or collective self-defence in case of an armed attack, was also underlined by some delegations. In that context, it was further noted that regional organizations could and should themselves play an essential role in setting up a reliable system of conflict prevention around small States, thus supplementing the United Nations work in that regard.

20. As to enhancing the regional involvement in general, some members of the Council saw value in increasing significantly the interaction, cooperation and consultation at the regional level. It was pointed out that contemporary regional initiatives among small States had largely centred on economic and developmental concerns and had only recently begun to focus on the area of security. As a consequence, their regional structures were not, for the most part, geared to handling security issues. There was, therefore, much room for further action, it was considered. Some delegations indicated that it might be appropriate for small States to ponder on establishing their own regional security arrangements. These could also provide an institutional political structure for enlisting possible assistance either from an international organization or a larger State. Two delegations went further suggesting serious enlargement of subregional cooperation up to the point of having security arrangements at the subregional level. A few delegations cautioned, however, that in some regions international realities might require conceding a degree of sovereignty as a concomitant to any regional security arrangements. Thus, issues of sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence should be by all means taken into account. A view was expressed in this connection that an explicit request for help by a State under threat or attack must be an indispensable prerequisite for any action at both international and regional levels. Moreover, it was pointed out that any action taken in response to such a request must be aimed solely at and limited to repelling the attack.

21. Some members of the Council also considered it important and relevant to enhance the capabilities of small States themselves with regard to dealing with and countering potential threats, especially those emanating from mercenaries and terrorists, including narco-terrorists. Although it was recognized that there was limited value in prescribing a self-help approach to the formation of the security forces of small States, those delegations favoured that assistance be provided to help States in building up their police, security or armed forces to cope with small-scale threats and attacks.

IV. OBSERVATIONS

22. On the basis of the replies received from interested Governments and as a result of two rounds of consultations with members of the Security Council, it appeared that although States Members of the United Nations held differing views with regard to the multifaceted issue of security of small States and especially with regard to the possible ways and means of its safeguarding, there were significant areas of agreement and understanding which could be regarded as the groundwork for further deliberations and future actions.

23. Because of their intrinsic characteristics, small States may need a special measure of attention and support. Member States clearly acknowledged that the international community had a vested interest in safeguarding the security of small States, since the international order could be undermined by their instability or loss of security.

24. It was felt, however, that small States had a limited capacity to provide for their own security and that there was little value in advising any self-reliant answer to the question. Therefore, it was considered advisable to create an environment of support and protection for those States. It was generally recognized in that regard that the United Nations and its present machinery could provide an important component of a security structure for small States. The United Nations might take the lead in creating a much needed protective environment for small States, primarily by building upon the arrangements that already existed under the international collective security system envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations, which should be applicable to all members of the international community on an equal footing.

25. A general agreement also transpired that at the core of international security guarantees for all States remained the unconditional respect by all States of the principle of sovereignty and territorial integrity as well as the other principles of the Charter and rules of international law. It was also understood in that regard that security arrangements for small States should also involve establishing supporting arrangements at the regional and subregional levels.

ANNEX I

Replies received from Governments

BAHAMAS

[Original: English]

[3 April 1991]

1. The vulnerability of small States to armed attack, whether internal or external, was forcibly brought home by recent events in Trinidad and Kuwait.

2. Protection and security of any State, internally and externally, demands consideration of a plethora of factors, among the most important being:

(a) Strength and pervasiveness of security forces;

(b) Freedom of movement, speech and participation of citizenry;

(c) Prevailing economic conditions;

(d) Resources and extent of economic independence;

(e) Sovereignty;

(f) Degree of ideological divergence of societal groups.

The many factors that impinge on the protection and security of small States also include the exposure that results from limited size and openness.

3. Small States, when compared with larger ones, have the "advantage" of considerably less territory to protect and secure; this is often accompanied, however, by resources, that proportionately, do not compare favourably with those of large countries. Owing to the fact that they are open, small States are accessible to practically any group, and are subject to substantial economic and social influences of external elements. With the multiple considerations that are necessary for the protection and security of small States, it is appreciated that the means of effecting protection and security are necessarily complex.

4. In democracies, there is a need for careful attention to preserve the balance between protection and security and traditional freedoms. If an invitation is to be extended to external partners to assist, when a small State is threatened or attacked, it becomes necessary to weigh sovereignty and self-determination against overt dependence or possible subjugation.

5. Small States seeking to protect and secure themselves need first to examine the responsiveness of internal institutions to public needs and the ability to maintain order without repression. It would appear that the ability to meet public needs and the force required to ensure societal well-being are diametrically opposed. As resources are limited, however, there will be a persistent conflict between these elements, hence the constant need for an internal security force.

6. The involvement of the private sector in national economic planning needs to be upgraded. Any existing joint councils require elevation to ensure that input from both sectors is given full consideration, and to minimize decisions that result in utenable positions for either sector. Since State protection and security affects public and private sectors, the concern for stability should therefore be mutual. Although private sector investment decisions are dictated by the market, in which the consumer is paramount, that fact should not in itself make it impossible to design creative ways for government and private sectors to respond quickly and effectively to the public needs and demands for goods and services.

7. Internal national security forces exist in States to contain elements in society that feel they are not fully sharing in societal benefits, and are seeking to redress the balance by deliberate disregard or violation of laws.

8. The credibility of security forces in all States is of vital importance. In small States where there may be familial and other associations, the problems of selective enforcement is probably more often encountered than in larger States.

9. Failure to enforce laws objectively can lead to a general erosion of regard for legal mores, create instability and place at risk all persons in society. Repression does not exist when legitimate enforcement occurs.

10. A general understanding ought to be advanced in small States that circumvention of law enforcement efforts is not possible. Properly instituted, such a policy could lead to increased respect for law enforcement officials and a more effective process. Although objective enforcement of laws would initially result in higher costs, it is felt that the long-term positive benefits to be derived would more than likely offset the initial increased cost.

11. Associated with law enforcement must be the ability to affect change when necessary. If road design or traffic light sequencing, for example, are leading to excessive violations, then the redesign of roads may be required to promote the smooth flow of traffic, or laws may be changed to permit left turns when traffic lights are red but the road is clear. Laws should be regularly reviewed to assess applicability and when found to be genuinely unnecessary should be removed from the books.

12. Perhaps the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations could strongly recommend to small States that they focus on economic development with greater encouragement and incentives for private sector involvement, and suggest objective enforcement of legislation and regular law reviews as a means of protecting and preserving the security of small States.

13. While assessing the position with respect to external threats or attacks should be fairly simple, the form of assistance that would be available may pose other difficulties, some of which follow:

(a) The size and intent of the attacking force;

(b) The interest of other players in the State which is attacked;

(c) The strength of the attacking force compared with friendly States;

(d) The strategic interest of potential assisting nations;

(e) The departure of assisting forces.

14. For small States a regional security council would appear to be the best possibility for protection and security. Members of the council would be required to designate part of their security forces for service under the regional council as required.

15. The council would meet regularly, its primary purpose being to act as a forum for the exchange of information and analysis of conditions in member States to determine if they might presage social upheaval. The information would be discussed and, where necessary, possible regional assistance would be given. It would be incumbent however, on the country concerned to take primary action. CARICOM and possibly the Organization of American States (OAS) could be utilized as the basis of the regional security council.

16. The recommendations of the Bahamas to the United Nations for the protection and security of small States is summarized as follows:

<u>To minimize internal threats</u>

(a) Development and general overall improvement of State institutions, for more effective delivery of public goods and services;

(b) Increased involvement of the private sector in national planning to effect greater coordination of public and private sector economic efforts;

(c) Objective enforcement of national laws by security forces, which is to assist in producing credibility, confidence and respect;

(d) Production of responsive systems capable of making required adjustments necessary to minimize conditions that encourage violation of national laws;

(e) Regular review of legislation to preserve currency.

To minimize external threats

Formation of a regional security council to exchange information and analyse conditions that may foreshadow social upheaval and to offer physical assistance when required.

BRUNEI DARUSSALAM

[Original: English]

[28 June 1991]

1. As a small State itself, Brunei Darussalam attaches the greatest importance to its security and thus subscribes to Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations in which States Members of the United Nations should facilitate its implementation.

2. Definitive reference to the position of Brunei Darussalam as a small State was given in the speech of His Majesty the Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan of Brunei of Brunei Darussalam on the occasion of Brunei Darussalam's admission to the United Nations in 1984.

3. Brunei Darussalam reaffirms the support for the obligation of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to implement General Assembly resolution 44/51 of 8 December 1989, given by the representative of Brunei Darussalam in his speech at the forty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

4. Brunei Darussalam believes that there should be a United Nations guarantee on the security of small States as any conflict affecting their security and the subsequent impact of such a conflict will influence global developments. This has been demonstrated by the recent events in the Gulf.

5. Conflicts affecting the security of small States should be resolved through diplomatic and peaceful means and the Secretary-General is the most appropriate and acceptable mediator in peace-keeping and the resolution of conflict.

6. In order to achieve an effective United Nations, all resolutions adopted by the United Nations Security Council should be implemented with consistency and without exception. The role of the Secretary-General should be further enhanced, especially in terms of directing it towards ensuring the security of small States. He should avail himself of any approach or request from a

country that considers itself facing an imminent threat that could lead to armed conflict. He should closely assess the actual situation and make recommendations to parties concerned with a view to resolving the problem. Alternatively, he could send a personal representative or an official of the United Nations Secretariat to obtain a first-hand assessment of the situation.

7. In carrying out its role in maintaining world peace and security, especially where small States are involved, the United Nations should provide assurance that respect will be accorded to national sovereignty and that there will be no interference in the internal affairs of a State.

BULGARIA

[Original: English]

[16 January 1991]

1. The Government of the Republic of Bulgaria expresses its interest in the problems of security of smaller States and responds readily to the request of the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the submission of considerations and proposals regarding the elaboration of a report for the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly in accordance with resolution 44/51. Moreover, it holds the view that this initiative, enjoying the active support of the large majority of States Members of the United Nations, is timely and merits serious consideration by the world Organization.

2. The time we live in has clearly demonstrated the lasting nature of the principles and ideals of the United Nations. The abandoning of the concept of security provided by military-political alliances has brought to the fore the need to seek new guarantees of stability in relations among States. Together with the better prospects for activating cooperation and contacts brought about by the inception of a new and diverse world, there is also fertile ground for the resurrection of old local disputes and conflicts and the emergence of new ones. Under these circumstances, smaller States of limited geographic, political, economic and military potential cannot help feeling a certain degree of anxiety regarding their security. In their desire to preserve their modest resources for the purposes of their development, they are increasingly seeking stability in international affairs through the efforts of the international community.

3. The current international situation favours the consolidation of the multilateral approach to solving global and regional problems, including the problems of peace and security. Against that background we are witnessing growing confidence in the peace-keeping potential of the United Nations. Strong hopes are pinned to the Organization in the establishment of a new democratic world order based on the freedom of choice, respect for national sovereignty and the primacy of international law.

4. The Republic of Bulgaria is viewing the effective use of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations for guaranteeing collective security as a necessary condition for the successful implementation of the Organization's main vocation - to be a guarantor both of peace and security at a global scale, as well as of the national security of its individual Member States. It is our view that a key element in the modern system of global security is the steadfast consolidation and respect in international relations of such founding principles of the Charter as soveriegn equality, self-determination, non-use of force or threat of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of States.

5. Iraq's aggression against Kuwait vividly demonstrates the pressing nature of the problem of the protection of the security of smaller States. Supporting fully the actions of the Security Council aimed at restoring the sovereignty, territorial integrity and legitimate Government of Kuwait, the Republic of Bulgaria believes that these decisions are indicative of the considerable potential of the respective provisions of the Charter, particularly of Chapters VI and VII. We welcome the activation of that potential and are prepared to work for the appropriate utilization and further improvement of that mechanism.

6. Small States attach great importance to the localization and neutralization of potential threatening conflicts at the time of their inception. The development of preventive diplomacy could be pursued along the lines of the more efficient utilization of the resources of the Security Council and the General Assembly in line with the Charter. We fully support the idea of activating the potential of the preventive diplomatic efforts of the Secretary-General pursuant to Article 99 of the Charter. A more clearly defined involvement of the United Nations in the protection of the security of smaller States would help to eliminate to a great degree the global and regional threats to peace and security. On the other hand, this would help a considerable number of States to adopt the necessary conversion actions aimed at utilizing their resources of the purposes of their economic and social development.

7. The problems related to the establishment of a new world order that would guarantee the security of small States cannot be resolved unilaterally, but only through a general agreement and by jointly assuming the responsibility for the fate of international peace and security. In that sense, the Republic of Bulgaria regards the adoption without a vote of resolution 44/51 as a first successful step forward in the right direction.

8. Starting from the premise of the right to equal participation of bigger and smaller States in finding solutions to the problems in the competence of the United Nations, the Republic of Bulgaria deems it useful to hold an international seminar on the problems of the security of smaller States. It would also welcome the holding of expert meetings at the regional level for the collection and sharing of information on disputes and trends that may pose a threat to peace and security.

9. The need for adopting effective measures for the protection of the security of smaller States in line with the principles of the United Nations requires the Organization's full support for the elaboration of the means and mechanisms necessary for that purpose. The implementation of those tasks would also require addressing certain theoretical issues, such as the criteria for defining which countries are small, the possible guarantees for national security, and so on. The Republic of Bulgaria proposes that the United Nations sponsors the conducting of a general study of all questions related to the security of smaller States. On that basis, the Organization would then elaborate practical steps for the establishment and strengthening of norms conducive to maintaining a stable international order. The study may be conducted by an expert group of moderate size that would examine the notion of security in all its political, military, economic, social, humanitarian and ecological aspects and outline possible measures based on existing United Nations mechanisms. That idea could be expressed in a draft resolution for consideration and adoption by the General Assembly at its forty-sixth session.

10. The Republic of Bulgaria subscribes to the idea expressed in the explanatory memorandum in document A/44/192 on the establishment of a more efficient mechanism for global monitoring to determine latent conflict situations and to undertake preventive actions for the de-escalation.

11. One of the main directions in which the world Organization may search for reliable guarantees of the security of small States is the establishment of United Nations peace-keeping operations. The Republic of Bulgaria believes that this aspect should be taken into consideration in the further discussion at the United Nations of the problems of elaborating a unified legal basis for peace-keeping operations. We are particularly interested in the proposal of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, made in the Special Political Committee during the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly, on the study of the possibilities for conducting United Nations peace-keeping operations at the request of an interested State whose security has been threatened, and on the grounds of an agreement with the United Nations and in line with a decision of the Security Council. Other proposals in that field also merit discussion and consideration.

12. The Republic of Bulgaria is convinced that the existing favourable conditions for activating the work of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security would be utilized in view of the building of a more stable and secure world corresponding to the noble principles and ideas of the United Nations.

BYELORUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

[Original: Russian]

[15 October 1990]

1. The Byelorussian SSR considers it fitting to raise the question of the protection and security of small States, which are particularly vulnerable to external threats and acts of interference in their internal affairs. Regrettably, recent events have confirmed the validity of the apprehensions that motivated the adoption of General Assembly resolution 44/51.

2. Iraq's aggression against sovereign Kuwait has again raised in acute terms the issue of the need for solidarity among the States Members of the United Nations in taking effective measures to curb the aggressor and prevent similar acts in future so as to afford reliable protection for States, including small States, against gross violations of the norms and principles of international law.

3. In its activity in the international arena and in its relations with its closest neighbours, the Byelorussian SSR invariably abides by the principles of good-neighbourliness, cooperation and regard for mutual interests. In strict observance of the Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the Byelorussian SSR considers it its duty to give effect to the provisions of the Declaration in practice, and to promote their implementation on the international scale.

4. The Byelorussian SSR again confirmed its adherence to the obligation to live together at peace on good-neighbourly terms with all States in the Declaration on State Sovereignty adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the Republic on 27 July 1990; in that proclamation of principles, it testified to its "respect for the sovereign rights of all peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the world".

5. In addition, the Byelorussian SSR is taking an active part in the development of a number of international legal instruments designed to strengthen international peace.

6. The Byelorussian SSR believes that the protection and security of small States is an important component of the package of issues relating to the maintenance of international peace and security and an element in the guarantees of sovereign States' free and secure development. It is convinced that the means of strengthening the security of States, including small States, should be sought first of all through strict compliance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and a comprehensive approach to building in practice a system of collective security of States. Unconditional acknowledgement in practice of the primacy of law in international relations is of vital importance in this respect. It would seem that the positive new trends in international relations, the major

developments in the field of disarmament, the emergence of a new attitude to the role of the United Nations and the prospects for globalization of these important processes provide a base for the establishment of an international system of security which would reliably protect the sovereign rights and lawful security interests of all members of the world community without exception.

7. In the view of the Byelorussian SSR, in order to prevent any kind of hostile action against small States, the role of the United Nations in key areas of security needs to be substantially enhanced, more decisive use needs to be made of its existing potential, and new forms and methods of action by it in response to the challenges of the age need to be agreed upon.

8. In this context, the Byelorussian SSR considers it possible and desirable, in particular, to enlarge the field of activity of the Security Council, including its permanent members, and to enhance its effectiveness.

9. It would be useful to strengthen the coordinating role of the Secretary-General with respect to questions of the maintenance of international peace and security.

10. Activation of the mediatory and peacemaking activity of regional organizations when a conflict occurs or there is a substantial risk of one occurring is an important channel for the strengthening of international security.

11. The Byelorussian SSR is also convinced that the objective prerequisites have also emerged for a transition to preventive diplomacy. In this context, the United Nations must be equipped with facilities for obtaining, analysing and rapidly exchanging information with appropriate international and regional organizations and structures when explosive situations arise. Preventive measures could also include a broad range of methods, including the dispatch of international observer missions or personal representatives of the Secretary-General to regions of tension, the provision of services by the Secretary-General at the request of States to initiate peace processes in areas which are sources of potential conflict, and so forth.

12. The Byelorussian SSR is confident that the rejection by States of narrowly egoistic approaches, the new role of the United Nations and constructive cooperation at all levels without exception - bilateral, regional and global - are capable of ensuring a stable and just peace throughout the world.

CUBA

[Original: Spanish]

[8 August 1991]

1. The Government of Cuba shares the view that small States are particularly vulnerable, both to threats and to acts of interference in their internal affairs; accordingly, as stated in the third preambular paragraph of General Assembly resolution 44/51, they may have special needs consonant with the right to sovereignty and territorial integrity that they share with all nations.

2. The Government of Cuba shares the concern raised by the possibility of mercenary attacks on small States. Cuba, which was the victim of a mercenary attack some years ago at Playa Girón, resolutely condemns such acts, which are specifically mentioned and severely punished in Cuban penal legislation.

3. In the view of the Government of Cuba, it is entirely legitimate, in implementing the letter and the spirit of Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations for a State that is attacked to exercise its right to self-defence and to request, should it deem it necessary to do so, the help of other nations in repelling the attack.

4. The State in question might also turn to the appropriate regional and international organizations to seek their cooperation. In both instances, we believe that an explicit request by the State under attack is an indispensable prerequisite, and any action taken in response to such a request must be aimed solely at repelling the attack.

5. In the context of paragraph 4 of resolution 44/51, the Government of Cuba agrees that, under Article 99 of the Charter, the Secretary-General must bring to the attention of the Security Council as quickly as possible any matter which threatens the peace and security of mankind.

6. Accordingly, the Government of Cuba believes that the Security Council must act as promptly and as efficiently as possible, all the while remaining scrupulously faithful to the functions assigned to it in the Charter and abiding by its rules of procedure. The Council must take care to ensure that in its efforts to preserve international peace and security the principles of sovereignty and non-inteference in the internal affairs of States are not infringed.

7. Likewise, to safeguard the security of small States further, the General Assembly ought to be informed immediately by the Secretary-General of any act of aggression perpetrated against a Member of the Organization, so that, in exercise of the functions and powers conferred upon it by Articles 10 and 11 of the Charter, the Assembly may discuss the matter and formulate any recommendations it considers pertinent. The fact that the General Assembly is the forum with the broadest participation by Members of the Organization

would facilitate greater cooperation among the international community in preserving the security of the State under attack.

8. The Government of Cuba wishes to confirm once again its conviction that, in order for small States to feel that they enjoy genuine protection, the political will of all States is required in the form of full respect for such important principles as the self-determination of peoples, the right of States to sovereignty and territorial integrity, and non-interference in a nation's internal affairs, which are the very underpinnings of the United Nations.

9. The Government of Cuba wishes to reiterate the importance of total respect for the principles of the peaceful settlement of disputes and the non-use of force or the threat thereof in international relations. Full respect for each of these principles is the only way in which all Member States can fulfil their obligation to promote international peace and security.

CYPRUS

[Original: English]

[3 July 1991]

1. The Government of the Republic of Cyprus recalls the inclusion of the item entitled "Protection and security of small States" on the agenda of the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly. It notes with satisfaction the due attention and importance afforded to it, demonstrated by the fact that General Assembly resolution 44/51 was adopted without a vote and was co-sponsored by 55 Member States, including the Republic of Cyprus.

2. The susceptibility and particular vulnerability of small States to external threats was most recently witnessed by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. The Republic of Cyprus, itself a victim of external threats and military aggression, having suffered both an invasion by Turkey and continuing occupation of part of its territory by Turkey, attaches particular importance to the need for a collective security system, as envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations.

3. Effective action against aggression perpetrated in contravention to the Charter of the United Nations and to the norms of international law, together with respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-use of force or threat of use of force are paramount to the protection of small States. The Republic of Cyprus recalls the effective international response following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, under the provisions of the Charter allowing for collective security measures and deems it most important that this response be a consistent one in similar cases, thereby acting as an effective deterrent to those wishing to settle disputes by means other than the peaceful settlement of disputes. The Government of the Republic of Cyprus expresses its firm belief that the Security Council should consider providing collective security guarantees to small States in appropriate circumstances.

4. The Government of the Republic of Cyprus reiterates its position that United Nations Security Council resolutions are binding and must be implemented. It is imperative that if we are to consolidate a new world order based on dialogue, peace, security and mutual respect, there can be no selective application of principles, nor selective implementation of resolutions. Consistent implementation of all Security Council resolutions without exception, as well as the commitment by the Council to uphold the Charter and redress breaches of international law through collective security, form the only effective deterrent to aggressors and recourse to the aggressed, particularly the small States.

5. The Government of the Republic of Cyprus regards as particularly significant the reference in resolution 44/51 to the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. The Declaration is of utmost importance and has been elaborated on at regional levels. The 1975 Helsinki Final Act is a case in point. The Government of the Republic of Cyprus also attaches great importance to the reference in resolution 44/51 of Article 99 of the Charter pertaining to matters threatening the maintenance of international peace and security.

FIJI

[Original: English]

[31 May 1991]

1. General Assembly resolution 41/51 entitled "Protection and security of small States" was submitted in response to a military threat to take over a small State. This threat has always existed and the resolution, on its own, will not necessarily remove the threat. Because of the pervasiveness of the threat to their security, however, small States are forced to find ways and means of combating the likelihood of its manifestations, often to the detriment of other pressing economic and social priorities.

2. Size, economic well-being and geographical location have not deterred potential aggressors. However, these factors have, in the past, dictated the way the international community responds to these incidents. Political expediency appears to have played a major pivotal role in determining the type of action which has been taken. Small island States face particular vulnerabilities under these circumstances, where their isolation favours an aggressor, who can rely on a fair amount of time to consolidate his gains before he is required to go on the defensive.

3. The Government of Fiji attaches great importance to the Workshop on protection and security of small States held at Maldives on 5 and 6 May 1991 and considers its final recommendations as containing the elements essential to enhancing the security of this group of States and in this respect lends its strong support. Further, the Government of the Republic of Fiji would like to emphasize that the response of the United Nations and the international community should not be slowed by such factors as size, economy, geography nor political expediency but the response should be consistent without variance.

FINLAND

[Original: English]

[27 February 1991]

Preserving and enhancing the security of small States

1. General

1. All States are entitled to preserve and strengthen their security; only a few of them are in a position to accomplish this unilaterally. Small States, in particular, need collective arrangements to safeguard their position. In a sense, the very body of international law is such a collective arrangement. Strict adherence to its rules and principles is the best way to uphold global peace and security. Small States, including Finland, have traditionally supported the establishment and scrupulous observance of rules of international law. Yet it is abundantly clear that no State can afford to rely solely on the observance by all States of the rules of international law in good faith. Additional measures are needed to account for the situation of non-observance, which creates danger to peace and security of States. It goes without saying that such measures need to be in accordance with the rules of international law relating to the maintenance of international peace and security.

2. Two avenues have been regarded as instrumental for the enhancement of the security of States. First, attempts have been made to develop mechanisms for the peaceful settlement of international controversies. It has been assumed that if there exist reliable, impartial mechanisms for addressing disputes and other grievances among States in a peaceful fashion, no State needs to resort to measures that would endanger the security of other States. Secondly, countries have attempted to forestall aggression by the establishment of collective security arrangements among themselves.

3. In recent times, both avenues have been explored predominantly within international organizations. Thus, many regional arrangements exist which provide mechanisms for the peaceful settlement of international disputes. Collective security, likewise, is a goal sought by States from regional arrangements, inter alia, under Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United

Nations. More significant, however, would appear to be efforts undertaken at a global level. As is well known, Article 2, paragraph 3, of the Charter obliges all States to settle their disputes by peaceful means while Article 1, paragraph 1, commits them to taking "effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace". In what follows, peaceful settlement and collective enforcement are discussed from the perspective of enhancement of the security of small States, particularly within the United Nations.

2. Peaceful settlement of disputes

4. The role of United Nations peace-keeping and peacemaking functions is increasingly important. In safeguarding peace and security for all States, and particularly the small ones, the peace-keeping activities of the United Nations today - from preventive diplomacy to peace-enforcement - should be looked upon from a wider perspective than before. More efforts should perhaps be directed, within the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the strengthening of the Role of the Organization, as well as in other bodies, to developing those functions further. One important task is to safeguard the adequacy of financing of United Nations peace-keeping activities. Also, the conditions and modalities for launching peace-keeping operations as well as the development of other comparable functions - such as fact-finding and various supervisory mechanisms - might be useful. It should be borne in mind, however, that the recent successes of the United Nations in these fields is likely to be a result of the inherent flexibility of those processes and that their formalization might not necessarily contribute to furthering their usefulness.

5. Whether or not peaceful settlement is a realistic means for dealing with disputes that might threaten the security of States depends on whether States can rely on the impartiality and effectiveness of settlement mechanisms. Within the United Nations, much work has been undertaken in order to strengthen them. The latest development in this field is the finalization of the "Handbook on the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes" within the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization. As the handbook will be submitted to the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly in the fall of 1991, it will certainly constitute a meaningful contribution to peaceful settlement.

6. Ever since The Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, international efforts have concentrated on the establishment of procedural channels for States to address their grievances. The combined effect of the prohibition of the use or threat of force in the Charter is to establish peaceful means of settlement as the sole manner to deal with international disputes.

7. Mention could in this connection also be made of regional efforts and particularly of the Meeting of Experts on Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, held at Valletta, Malta, from 15 January to 8 February 1991 within the confines of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). At

that meeting, the experts suggested certain principles and procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes between the countries participating in the CSCE process. It remains to be seen whether and to what extent the mechanism suggested by the meeting will become a reality. Nevertheless, the ability of European States to agree on a common mechanism - in addition to those already existing between them - can be taken as an encouraging development in the field.

3. Collective security

8. The search for security in the establishment of a balance of power by concluding agreements on collective security is a part of the classical diplomacy inherited from the nineteenth century. With the prohibition of aggressive war, the character of such arrangements, however, changed. As is well known, the Charter of the United Nations entrusts the function of "maintenance of international peace and security" to the Security Council. Any use of force or threat of the use of force is now a matter which is expected to trigger the collective security system under Chapter VII of the Charter. The system is supplemented by the right of individual and collective self-defence in Article 51 and the possibility of regional arrangements under Chapter VIII.

9. For much of the existence of the United Nations, however, this machinery remained ineffective due to the confrontation between the permanent members of the Security Council. The dismantling of the cold war had an immediate effect on collective security at the United Nations. The Kuwait crisis witnessed a reinvigorated determination by the Council to take action under Chapter VII of the Charter for the preservation of the security - indeed the very existence - of small States.

10. Since the occupation and annexation of Kuwait by Iraq on 2 August 1990, the United Nations has been consistently seized with the crisis. The Security Council has passed 12 resolutions, determining that the events constitute a breach of the peace under Article 39 of the Charter; establishing economic sanctions against Iraq under Article 41 of the Charter; demanding the release of foreign hostages; authorizing the navies of Member States to intercept vessels suspected of breaking the economic embargo and, finally, authorizing Members to use "all necessary means to uphold and implement" all its previous resolutions of the matter.

11. Clearly, the Council has here acted in a fashion which has the utmost significance for the security of small Member States. Yet there are nagging doubts about whether the course of action has, in fact, been beneficial for the Organization and its future capabilities. Both the system itself - Chapter VII of the Charter - and its application have raised problems of both constitutional and political character. Some of those problems need to be tackled when contemplating any action destined to strengthen the capacity of the Organization to enhance the protection of small States. The following are some of those problems.

(a) Chapter VII of the Charter is very inflexible in application. It provides for gradually increasing pressure against the aggressor but little or no room for negotiation, containment and compromise. Unless the aggressor backs down, fully and unconditionally, the Council can only increase pressure on it - with the final sanction of war never very far ahead;

(b) Despite its inflexibility, however, Chapter VII also presents problems of interpretation. How far does a Member State's right to "individual and collective self-defence" under Article 51 of the Charter overlap or conflict with the Security Council's competence? How binding are the resolutions of the Council on Member States in case their practical import is not clearly spelt out in the text? How to protect the rights of third-country citizens, stranded in the State which has become the object of collective measures? How to avoid the violation of human rights in the country subjected to collective measures? And so on. Absence of precedent on these and other interpretative controversies may weaken the system itself;

(c) Some of the parts of the collective security system may not be applicable due to the political problems connected with them. The Military Staff Committee has played no role in the operations and has certainly not undertaken the "strategic direction of any armed forces" as provided in Article 47, paragraph 3, of the Charter. Neither have such agreements been made between the Security Council and Member States regarding the dispatch of national contingents for a United Nations force as seems required by Article 43 of the Charter. These facts raise a political problem about the setting of the goals of the action taken as well as a constitutional query regarding the continued validity of certain key parts of the collective security system;

(d) Recent events also demonstrate the inability of the Organization to monitor and manage effectively sanctions decided under Article 39 or 41. For example, the sanctions committee, established under resolution 661 (1990), has no independent means for verifying the effect of the economic embargo on Iraq nor for assessing the correctness of any allegations concerning the violation of the embargo by States and private individuals. As the sanctions committee had no means to verify the presence of humanitarian circumstances, its debate about whether or not the delivery of foodstuffs to Iraq was overshadowed by some degree of unreality and a lack of reliable information on the conditions present in Iraq;

(e) A problem has also arisen regarding assistance to those Member States which, due to their long-standing economic ties with Iraq, have suffered serious economic problems from compliance with the embargo. Requests for assistance as provided under Article 50 of the Charter by several countries have led only to a series of generally formulated appeals from the sanctions committee to the international community. So far, it is uncertain whether these appeals have had any practical effect.

12. These and other problems contribute to the fact that the collective security system of the United Nations, though clearly the most effective collective means to preserve the security of small States, might still be subjected to an overview. Some parts of the system might - or might not - show themselves amenable to being reviewed with the goal of making their application more acceptable in today's circumstances.

4. Conclusion

13. The protection of the security of small States is a matter which the international community cannot afford to overlook. It is also a crucial part in the credibility and functioning of the United Nations. The Organization should be in a position to offer States reliable and efficient means to settle their disputes in a peaceful fashion and a system of collective response which is sufficiently strong and streamlined so as to represent a credible deterrent against violations.

GAMBIA

[Original: English]

[30 May 1991]

The background that led to the passing of General Assembly resolution 44/51 is well known to all peace-loving countries of the international community. As a State Member of the United Nations, one of the fundamental principles to which the Gambia aggressively adheres is respect for and protection of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each and every member State of the world community. The past two decades, however, have witnessed the blatant abrogation of this sacred principle by certain States and international organizations, both legal and clandestine, leading to the gross violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of some States, particularly small States of the developing countries; the latest one being that of the unprovoked and brutal aggression by Iraq against Kuwait, an act which clearly is tantamount to a violation of the letter and spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. Many lessons have been learned since the reversal of that aggression and it is in that context and in light of our own experience, following the abortive coup attempt of July 1981 against the democratic and legally constituted Government of the Gambia, that the following observations and suggestions are being offered hereunder:

(a) The United Nations, as the case of Kuwait clearly demonstrates, has a vital role to play, given the international responsibility it has under the Charter, in enhancing the protection and security of small States. As in the case of Kuwait, the promptness and the "no-nonsense" attitude with which the Security Council responded to the emergency call from a small Member State with regard to the naked violation of its sovereignty by an act of aggression from another larger Member State, is very commendable and should be encouraged in all such cases. In this respect, it would indeed be worth considering

whether avenues to improve the responsiveness of the Security Council should be further explored. There could be a variety of ways of examining the matter. A dual approach would examine, first, the procedural aspect of the Council's decision-making and implementation process. A pertinent matter to be addressed in this regard would be whether the current procedure for the convening of Security Council meetings for deliberation on emergency security measures for the protection and security of small States could be made less time-consuming and cumbersome, in the interest of increased efficacy and the collective security system enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. Secondly, an analytic focus should be made on the substantive peace-keeping role of the Council entrusted to it by the Charter to make it a more efficient body to prevent rather than to react to potential areas of conflict and disaster;

(b) Since the protection and security of small States is to be a major task not only of the States themselves but for the international community as a whole, in the interest of collective security and global peace, the United Nations should look into the feasibility of setting up an institutional arrangement to take up the full-time responsibility of monitoring problem and potential problem areas with a view to gathering relevant and essential data to be put at the disposal of members of the Security Council and concerned parties as a preventive measure to avert conflict and as a resource to formulate strategy for progressive, stable and peaceful development;

(c) The experience of the Gambia, after the July 1981 abortive coup, of a regional security arrangement/structure with the Republic of Senegal within the framework of the now defunct SeneGambia Confederation is that when such structures are integrated and based on disinterested motives, they serve as invaluable instruments to national security and stability and consequently should be enhanced and bolstered at all cost. Nevertheless, since the resource capabilities of small States are overstretched, limited and scarce, regional security plans, however sound and plausible, cannot have any practical value, for after all, it is the effective implementation of the plan that can yield fruitful and positive results; and it is a fact that effective implementation of any security plan, however modest such a structure may be, does entail financial and other material and technical considerations and commitments, both on a short and long-term basis, on the part of those Member States who are parties to the joint structural plan/system/arrangements. Indeed, it is arguable whether small developing States can or should give priority to such very necessary structures in their developmental goals, in the face of the colossal welfare and health needs of their general populace. On this score, the United Nations could therefore explore ways and means of supporting and, if necessary, preserving and sustaining both financially and technically, if not in the short term then in the long term, all or part of such regional structures with a view to guaranteeing durable peace and stability in the areas concerned as a means to the promotion of collective security, international understanding and global peace as envisaged by the Charter of the United Nations;

(d) The pursuit of a sound economic policy and efficient management of scarce resources is a cornerstone of peace, stability and development and

therefore strengthens the security base of a State. Lack of such a policy and management skill conversely weakens the security base of a State and invariably leads to the violation of its inalienable sovereign rights and territorial integrity either by other States richly endowed or other agents with external support to satisfy vested interests. A State that does not address itself to the primary and basic humanitarian needs of its people through the pursuit of clear and sound goals and objectives in the quest for survival and development makes it all the more difficult for other States, institutions and organizations to come to its rescue and protection in times of disaster and threat to its security, particularly when such a threat is fomented and launched from within. In that regard, the United Nations, in collaboration with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, could look into ways of further accelerating the practical and technical assistance hitherto given to small States in the economic and management sectors by ensuring that they are a catalyst to meaningful and fruitful change and have a cushioning effect to the system-stress-related syndrome of the developmental process that is constantly being experienced by almost all developing countries. This type of assistance to contain and minimize the effects of State-building is a fundamental means of enhancing the confidence-building capacity and efficacy of small States which in turn result in the strengthening and widening of their security base and structure;

(e) Given what has been outlined in (a) to (d) above, in the event of external military aggression against a small State, the United Nations, unlike its stance in Kuwait, should examine the practicability and utility of establishing and maintaining a rapid deployment force to be under the direct control of the Security Council with the Secretary-General as its commander-in-chief. Its primary role would be to reverse aggression whenever it may occur. The establishment and maintenance of such a force has, prima facie, a deterrent value. Membership of such a force should be open to all Member States, but the criteria for entry into it should be laid down by professional experts in the field chosen by the five permanent members of the Security Council in consultation with the Secretary-General. The deployment and stationing of troops of the force should be the responsibility of the Secretary-General and there should be a periodic review of its role by the Security Council in any particular area;

(f) The "Global Watch" facility which was established by the United Nations about three years ago is one that could enhance the function of the force if it is ever established. It could do so by providing on-the-spot information relevant to the decision to deploy or not to deploy in a potentially troubled area and, of course, on the timing of such sensitive moves. The Gambia Government indeed commends the work of the "Global Watch" facility and would like to see it improved. In this regard, therefore, it urges the Secretary-General to examine ways and means of strengthening the facility in order to make it more effective and responsive to the security needs of small States. Attention should be focused on strengthening and reinforcing areas pertaining to the pooling and exchange of information on matters relating to security in general, with particular attention to sabotage, terrorism, mercenaries, drug-trafficking, money-laundering, surveillance and piracy. Most small States invariably lack the resources to

deal effectively with all such areas relative to their security. The United Nations, through that facility and others entrusted to its subsidiary organizations, could offer invaluable assistance to small States to preserve and enhance their security in that regard;

(g) Finally, the Gambia, as a responsible, peace-loving and civilized State Member of the United Nations and one that subscribes and adheres to all fundamental principles of the Charter, would like to see punitive action such as expulsion from this privileged world body meted out to any State that violates the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of another Member State, be it large or small, in accordance with Article 6 of the Charter. Membership of this global institution is based on mutual respect for each other and on the tacit agreement that States shall conduct their respective business, free from fear and prejudice, as equal partners, and as civilized nations and peoples; the United Nations is built on this solid foundation laid down by its founding fathers. Any deviation from the norm, particularly in the new world order of international dialogue and understanding, following the success of the Gulf campaign, is anathema to the maintenance and sustenance of durable world peace and security.

GERMANY

[Original: English]

[31 October 1990]

1. Germany is deeply committed to the principle of the equality of all nations, big and small, as solemnly affirmed in the Preamble of the Charter of the United Nations. The Federal Government holds that the unconditional respect for international law, including the principles of the sovereign equality of States as well as of non-intervention and the non-use of force, best guarantee the security of small States. The rule of law in the relations between States is a basic element of Germany's foreign policy.

2. Thus, we continue to be guided by the precept of the peaceful settlement of disputes, as laid down, inter alia, in Article 2, paragraph 3, and Article 33, paragraph 1, of the Charter. To protect small States, all possibilities for a peaceful settlement of disputes and the prevention of conflicts should be promoted, and their acceptance widened. The declaration of 5 December 1988 on conflict prevention, which was co-sponsored by the Federal Republic of Germany, deserves special attention in this context. Germany also hopes for an early successful conclusion of the fact-finding initiative now before the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization. It expects that this initiative will likewise significantly expand the array of instruments available for conflict prevention, benefiting not least the smaller States.

3. Finally, Germany holds that regional cooperation and regional integration on the basis of the principles of the Charter can contribute to the better protection and the development of smaller States.

GHANA

[Original: English]

[26 September 1990]

1. The Government of Ghana believes that maintaining the independence and sovereignty of small States, as well as promoting international peace and security, demands strict adherence to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, particularly:

(a) The principle of non-use of force in international relations;

(b) Peaceful settlement of disputes;

(c) Non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

2. The Government of Ghana further believes that to deal effectively with the disturbing problem of mercenaries, all countries should endeavour to outlaw the activities of mercenaries and establish a legal framework for punishing offenders in accordance with the principles of the International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries, unanimously adopted by the General Assembly in its resolution 44/34, annex, of 4 December 1989.

GUYANA

[Original: English]

[31 May 1991]

1. As a small State in the global society, Guyana attaches great importance to the search for ways and means of preserving and enhancing its security. Its views on this subject are to be found in its several statements to the General Assembly and in other forums where attention has been given to the vulnerability of countries such as ours. We welcome this opportunity to further advance our thinking with a view to stimulating the international community to the adoption of protective measures against threats to our sovereignty, territorial integrity and overall development.

2. Experience shows that small States are prey to many forms of aggression that put their survival in jeopardy. The attempted invasion of the Republic of Maldives on 3 November 1988 and the daring move by a dissident group on 27 July 1990 to remove the legitimate Government of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago are but two examples of the dangers to which small nations are exposed. They provide ample warning that, unless there is meaningful deterrence to such actions, they are likely to proliferate with impunity. Indeed, in the face of serious aggression, there is precious little that a small nation can do to protect itself. There may be, of course, possibilities

of assistance at the bilateral and regional levels but these are sometimes far from certain. Ultimately, therefore, it must look to the wider international community for protection. This is only natural since, as was stated in the Goa Declaration on International Security: "These countries are members of the international community which must respect their independence and, at the very least, has a moral obligation to provide for their territorial integrity."

3. Such provision can be best made, in the view of the Government of Guyana, through the strengthening of the United Nations to allow the Organization effectively to discharge the mandate conferred by the Charter to safeguard international peace and security. Among the measures that should be pursued are the enhancement of the roles allotted to the Security Council and the Secretary-General, multilateral assistance in ensuring required communication, information and surveillance facilities and the formulation of legal instruments that proscribe and punish intervention. A commendable effort in the latter regard has been made in the International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries (General Assembly resolution 44/34, annex). It is expected that a combination of legal and moral suasion would serve to inhibit further encroachment on the security of small States.

4. At the same time, the United Nations needs to develop its peacemaking capacity to the point where it can effectively intervene to resolve conflict situations. The creation of an adequate multilateral force, an important recommendation made by the Workshop on the protection and security of small States held at Malé, Maldives, on 5 and 6 May 1991, appears necessary and should be examined to determine the feasibility of its implementation. The Workshop's Final Document contains other practicable suggestions for action at the international, regional and national levels aimed at reinforcing the security of small States. The Government of Guyana is fully supportive of these proposals and urges their acceptance and pursuit.

5. Apart from the traditional threats to international security, other problems - no less destructive in potential - now confront small States like Guyana. One of the most terrifying is drug-trafficking which by its extensive spread has engulfed most societies in misery. For its part, Guyana has attempted to resist trafficking by the enactment of a comprehensive body of legislation and the imposition of heavy penalties for all drug-related offences. It has also entered into bilateral and multilateral cooperation agreements with its immediate neighbours and beyond to stem the flow of narcotic drugs. Admittedly, as a transit country, Guyana has not been as affected as other territories. Nevertheless, given the upsurge in demand and supply, it may not be long before the situation becomes unmanageable. In that eventuality, only strong concerted international action can arrest societal decline.

6. Another major source of concern is the environment. As a low-lying coastal State, Guyana is particularly vulnerable to sealevel rise and other consequences of climate change. With breaches in sea-defence, flooding results, causing serious dislocation among the coastal population and

considerable damage to agriculture and industry. Because of the lack of adequate financial and technical resources, the country is unable to sustain the impact of these natural disasters. On another front, Guyana is anxious to preserve the rich bio-diversity of its forest and to that end has set aside almost 1 million acres for research, development and preservation purposes. It is also alert to the dangers of the dumping of hazardous waste on its soil or of any other pollution of the environment. While Guyana is committed to the preservation of the environment, however, it clearly is not in a position to undertake all its obligations in view of its own limited resources. The international community must therefore be prepared to assist small States in dealing with these ecological issues.

7. In the contemporary world, the traditional concepts of security are no longer adequate to the treatment of the vast array of problems faced by disadvantaged nations. They must now extend beyond the military and political spheres to cover the economic and social dimensions of development. The present international economic system is undoubtedly in disarray and its debilitating effect on all States, especially the small and the weak, is manifest. Deteriorating social conditions sap the strength of the State and can lead, if left unremedied, to chaos. As recognized in the Declaration issued by the special session on international economic relations, there is an urgent need for global action to revitalize the economy of developing countries. An external environment must be created in which opportunities are provided for small States to overcome the constraints of size and so on, and pursue stable economic development as an underpinning for security.

8. A comprehensive study of the special needs of small States was done by a Commonwealth Consultative Group in 1985. Its conclusions and recommendations have been published in its report entitled "Vulnerability - Small States in the Global Society". That document represented, in the view of the Government of Guyana, a helpful basis for the formulation of measures designed to assist in overcoming "the disadvantage of small size, isolation and scarce resources from which most small States suffer". General Assembly resolution 44/51 has sought to galvanize the international community into responding to the needs of small States "for the strengthening of their security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter". It is to be hoped that the consultations which the Secretary-General was requested to undertake in accordance with paragraph 5 of that resolution will elicit further ideas on ways and means of protecting the security of small States. Once these have been considered by the General Assembly at its forty-sixth session, the international community should act swiftly to incorporate these proposals into the work programmes of the United Nations.

MALDIVES

[Original: English]

[20 May 1991]

1. The Republic of Maldives would like to reconfirm its commitment to finding ways and means of preserving and enhancing the security of small States. In this connection, it has continued to work in cooperation with a number of other small countries to move towards a comprehensive approach to the issue. The Government of Maldives believes that recent events in the Gulf had further highlighted that small States are particularly vulnerable to external threats and acts of interference in their internal affairs and that they have special needs consonant with the right to sovereignty and territorial integrity that they share with all nations. Maldives is also hopeful that in light of the recent events a more constructive and positive approach will be taken by all members of the United Nations in considering the security concerns of the small Members of the United Nations family.

2. The Workshop organized by the Government of Maldives recently, in Malé, in association with the Commonwealth Secretariat, on the protection and security of small States, facilitated immensely in preparing a detailed response to the Secretary-General's request for information.

3. The Workshop was attended by a representative group of small States of the Commonwealth consisting of Brunei Darussalam, Cyprus, the Gambia, Maldives, Malta, Mauritius, Papua New Guinea, Seychelles, Singapore, Solomon Islands and Sri Lanka. In addition, representatives from the Commonwealth Secretariat, the United Nations and OECS and CARICOM (Grenada) participated in the Workshop.

4. At the conclusion of the Workshop, a number of recommendations were agreed upon by all participants as worthy of consideration by the Secretary-General for inclusion in his report to the General Assembly at its forty-sixth session on the protection and security of small States. The Government of Maldives fully endorses these recommendations and wishes to propose them to the Secretary-General for inclusion in the above-mentioned report (see annex III).

5. The Government of Maldives would like to, in particular, draw the attention of the Secretary-General to section A, paragraphs 4 and 5, of the recommendations concerning the creation and operation of a United Nations force of a rapid response nature, that would assist in the protection and security of small States in crisis situations. With regard to that recommendation, the Government of Maldives views that measures and procedures specified in Articles 42, 43 and 46 of the Charter of the United Nations could be further explored with a view to finding additional ways and means of better utilizing them for the purpose of the maintenance of peace and security.

6. The Government of Maldives would also like to urge the Secretary-General to strengthen the "Global Watch" facility at the United Nations, and to make it more effective and relevant to the needs of small States as stated in section A, paragraph 7 (a), of the recommendations, and also consider establishing a "unit" as referred to in section A, paragraph 7 (b) that would not only assist in research on the subject, but could also be used for the training of diplomats in such fields as international law and security-related subjects. Furthermore, considering the lack of qualified personnel in small States, especially in legal affairs, the unit could be a source of legal assistance and advice from which small States could draw, as and when needed. The Government of Maldives, however, is prepared to discuss any proposal that would address the relevancy and effectiveness of existing institutions at the United Nations in meeting the above-stated purposes.

7. The Government of Maldives believes that protection and security of small States could be viewed from the very narrow military point of view as well as from a broader perspective that includes economic and social factors, not to mention environmental threats. Both views are equally relevant and deserve to be considered when addressing the subject.

8. From the point of view of military security, it is apparent that most small States not only lack adequate financial resources for acquiring military hardware and equipment but also have to face severe manpower constraints. Given the fact that their populations are mainly engaged in labour-intensive industries such as fishing, agriculture, tourism and so on, diversion of human resources to the military sector is possible only at the expense of other vital industries. Furthermore, no matter what measures are taken, it seems self-evident that no small State could ever hope to strengthen its defence forces to the level that it would not need external assistance if faced with a serious threat to its sovereignty, whether the threat emanates from another State or non-State sources such as mercenaries, terrorists, or narco-terrorists.

9. Viewed from a broader perspective of security that takes into account the socio-economic status and the environmental threats that constantly confront small States, only concerted action by the international community can help to alleviate their plight. Small States usually have a very narrow resource base, are often dependent on one or two primary products whose prices they cannot influence in the international market and are unable to benefit from economies of scale.

10. Similarly, the other ubiquitous industry prevalent in the small States, tourism, is also largely dependent on such external factors as the international economic environment in general and the economies of the guest countries in particular. Moreover, any increase in international tension and fear, over which a small State has no control whatsoever, could also cause a downturn in the tourism industry as was seen during the recent Gulf war, with disastrous consequences for the local economy. Thus, protection and security of small States is also closely linked to global security. Given the precarious nature of the state of survival of small States and their inherent

vulnerability to a multitude of exogenous threats, the United Nations remains the logical and the most effective mechanism through which small States can best be protected and their security strengthened. Indeed, small States need the United Nations much more so than the larger and more powerful States. And, yet, the irony is that small States, because of financial and manpower limitations, find it extremely difficult to maintain effective representation at the United Nations.

11. In view of the foregoing, the Government of Maldives would like to present the following observations and suggestions, in addition to the "Recommendations of the Workshop on Protection and Security of Small States" (see annex III):

(a) The Government of Maldives believes that small States should be identified as a distinct category, requiring particular attention rather than on the basis of their present geographic groupings. In this respect, it is worth noting that the United Nations already identifies small island States for particular attention. The rationale for this suggestion arises from the fact that many of the problems faced by the small States, whether it be developmental or security, are of a similar nature irrespective of their location. For instance, it has been the Maldives experience that many of the developmental projects designed for the South Pacific island States are much more relevant to the needs of Maldives than the regional projects to which Maldives belongs on the basis of geographic groupings existing in the United Nations currently;

(b) The Government of Maldives is aware that defining a category of small States can prove to be problematic. The primary criteria in determining "small States", in the opinion of the Government of Maldives, should be population and territorial size, as the inherent vulnerability of the small States derives from the interplay of these two essential factors. While any cut-off point will, of course, be arbitrary, the Government of Maldives would like to suggest that the Secretary-General may consider those States having a population of less than 3 million as falling within the category of "small States";

(c) Most threats to the security of small States emanate from non-government sources such as mercenaries and terrorists. While applauding the efforts being made at the international level both bilaterally and at the United Nations to address these problems, the Government of Maldives would like to urge the Secretary-General to use his good offices to promote the fight against such evils as international drug trafficking and arms sales which are at the core of these problems. As mentioned before, the proposed "unit" for small States referred to earlier may lead in the research and analysis of these problems with a view to identifying practical solutions;

(d) For the small State, diplomacy will always remain its first line of defence, no matter what steps are taken to strengthen its national defence capabilities. The recent Gulf crisis clearly revealed that economic power alone is insufficient to deter a potential aggressor. Hence, courting of

powerful friends who are not a threat to the security of the small State concerned can be a very important deterrent in warding off potential aggressors. At the same time, too much dependence on one single powerful friend may entail serious risks to its sovereignty. It would be therefore prudent to have as many powerful friends as possible who are sympathetic to the interests of the small State concerned. Quite evidently, the best arena for achieving these aims will be the United Nations, where all countries maintain permanent representations. The Government of Maldives would like to draw the attention of the Secretary-General to a scheme being implemented by the Commonwealth Secretariat whereby a number of small States are provided with an office and a pool of secretarial and administrative services on a shared basis. The existence of the scheme has been invaluable in allowing many small States to maintain permanent representation at the United Nations. The Secretary-General may consider extending similar types of assistance to small States through the United Nations that would help strengthen their diplomatic capabilities;

(e) The Government of Maldives would also like to suggest that the United Nations could organize more international forums where the issue of protection of and security of small States may be discussed. To date, the Commonwealth Secretariat has been the leading force focusing on the plight of the small States. The Government of Maldives believes that the United Nations could complement these efforts. Such forums would prove to be an excellent arena for the exchange of experiences of small States who, while geographically apart, may share many features and face similar socio-economic as well as security-related problems.

12. The suggestions and recommendations above are in no way meant to be either definitive or exhaustive, but it is the considered opinion of the Maldives Government that these views merit serious consideration. The Government of Maldives reiterates its full commitment to work in close cooperation with all Members of the United Nations to find a deserved solution to the problems faced by the small States.

MALTA

[Original: English]

[14 June 1991]

1. This issue usually starts by raising the question as to which States can be considered small, and thus in need of protection and security in the terms of General Assembly resolution 44/51. Valid as this question may be, we do not think that it justifies procrastination, still less inaction, at least with regard to the more obvious cases, while the debate proceeds on the outer parameters that one may envisage as appropriate to qualify as a small State.

2. As a contribution to this debate, however, we would point out that in speaking of the protection and security of small States, one should identify what danger one is seeking protection from, what is the security weakness that

is perceived, and in all cases how the smallness of a State, especially in relation to its population, area, geo-strategic position and its economic development, as well as the interrelationship of these factors, accentuate a security problem which calls for additional protection to that which can be provided by the State itself.

3. As far as Malta is concerned, we look on the following factors as making us vulnerable and in need of protection:

(a) Our size, viz. about 120 square miles;

(b) The sea area over which Malta has sovereignty, viz. about 2,000 square miles;

(c) Being an island, hence with a potential common border with those States with substantial sea and air armed forces capabilities;

(d) Our limited defence forces of around 1,500 men, 8 helicopters, some anti-aircraft guns, 3 armoured cars and a few inshore patrol boats, whose upkeep, however, represents 4 per cent of our annual current budget;

(e) Our total capital budget, exceptionally high at LM 120,479,000 for 1991, makes no provision for the armed forces;

(f) Our limited hinterland and homemarket exposes our economic viability to external forces over which we have no control;

(g) Our geopolitical strategic position has often attracted the attention of bigger nations which wanted to exploit the military potentialities of this situation.

4. An obvious solution would be membership in a strong military alliance. Instead Malta has chosen neutrality. This is not because neutrality offers more security, but because it:

(a) Eliminates the temptation that membership in a military alliance could be construed as provocative or hostile to the interest of others;

(b) Gives scope for a more balanced economic development than a fortress economy;

(c) Gives greater scope to initiatives of a peaceful nature detached from bloc interests;

(d) Bases our security on the interest of the global community, since we cannot afford a truly credible armed neutrality.

5. The role of the United Nations, and the relevance of resolution 44/51 stems mainly from this last point. The United Nations was conceived as an organization that would guarantee peace, and this role has to be

strengthened. In the case of small States, especially those that can be easily overrun in a determined attack by unscrupulous bigger States, this United Nations role becomes very important. The determined reaction following the invasion of small Kuwait by big and powerful Iraq was most welcome, but if its lesson is to be fully learned, and the destruction that resulted in the invaded country is to be avoided, the United Nations must create the mechanism for a quick and efficient response that would deter the use of force in the first place. This should be supplemented by a fuller use of Article 99 of the Charter of the United Nations prior to critical situations reaching a flashpoint, which calls for the utilization of Article 18.

6. A regional arrangement to supplement such United Nations activities, such as an advance warning arrangement that would facilitate triggering of the action envisaged in Article 99, and the involvement of a United Nations peace-keeping or peacemaking force, or both, is highly desirable. It would involve at an early stage those neighbours more directly concerned. The utilization of existing regional bodies should be explored. In no case, however, should such regional arrangements inhibit action on a global basis if that is called for.

7. We expect that the Security Council, in particular its permanent members who have special responsibilities in security matters, will express themselves on this matter.

8. A new danger to the security of small States is the activity of international criminal or illegal organizations who, quite often, wield more resources than the States themselves, and who can exert overt and covert pressure, directly, or through other States, or through the corruption of administrations. This danger is not limited to the interest of the small States directly involved, but also to the interests of the world community, since the attraction of small States to such crime barons is that they provide a safe haven from which to operate to the detriment of other countries. It is therefore in the interest of the world community to assist small States to repel such dangers. Indeed, one should not overlook the fact that the more successful big countries are in fighting such dangers on their own soil, the more they are likely to push such operators to smaller States.

9. Such assistance could take the form of:

(a) Sharing advance information of perceived danger;

(b) Improving the defence infrastructure to meet such danger;

(c) Cooperate on an ongoing basis, at the international level by prohibiting or discouraging activities that could promote or serve as a cover for such danger.

10. Such assistance could be provided on a bilateral level, but the efficient utilization of existing or new United Nations mechanisms, would be most welcome since it would raise such efforts above suspicion of purely national or sectoral interest. International conventions that establish acceptable standards for international behaviour, and, where appropriate, international mechanisms to monitor such behaviour and act efficiently when there is a transgression, would contribute significantly to the preservation and enhancement of the protection of small States.

OMAN

[Original: English]

[16 November 1990]

1. Protection and security of small States is the theme of General Assembly resolution 44/51. The Government of Oman, being one of the co-sponsors of the resolution, welcomes its adoption without a vote. Many representatives participated in the debate on the item. The Government of Oman feels satisfied with the favourable and positive response expressed by the Member States on the main theme of the question debated.

2. The resolution, while recognizing the vulnerability of small States to external threats and acts of interference in their internal affairs, has endorsed the necessity of providing protection and security to those States as and when requested. The appeal addressed to relevant regional and international organizations to provide assistance when requested by small States is self-imposing on the United Nations itself. After all, it is a part of the global responsibility of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace and security. The Charter has provided the mechanism through which the Secretary-General could explore ways and means of preserving the security of these States.

3. The representation made by the Government of Maldives (A/44/192) and numerous suggestions and observations made by Member States during the debate in the Special Political Committee provide a useful basis to formulate a comprehensive approach to this question. The Government of Oman assures the Secretary-General of its full support and would look forward to receiving his report in due course of time.

ROMANIA

[Original: English]

[19 August 1991]

1. Romania considers necessary and useful the inclusion of the item entitled "Protection and security of small States" on the agenda of the forty-sixth session of the United Nations General Assembly. Though there has been relaxation in international relations, the efforts to strengthen peace and international security and to develop and improve the procedures to maintain them must be continued and intensified.

2. The best warrant for the small States is the unconditional respect, by all States, of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of contemporary international law, establishing cooperation and an understanding climate between nations, irrespective of size, the non-use of force and the solution of all international disputes only by peaceful means.

3. In that respect, Romania:

(a) Considers further action necessary with a view to developing the United Nations procedures and mechanisms that ensure the peaceful solution of disputes and the prevention against new conflicts between States;

(b) Is determined to proceed with its contribution to the application of the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter in order to stop all actions that threaten peace, violate peace or constitute aggression against other States;

(c) Regional agreements are welcome, because they are able to complement the efforts of the United Nations aimed at maintaining peace and international security. In this context, Romania supports and encourages the actions meant to establish regional mechanisms of trust, security and peaceful solutions of disputes between States;

(d) The conclusion of cooperation and treaties of good-neighbourliness as the participation to subregional cooperation creaties are viewed as an important contribution to the security of States. Romania has concluded such treaties and negotiates similar treaties with other European States, in order to reinforce stability in the Balkans, the Black Sea region and the Danube Basin;

(e) Romania salutes the provision of paragraph 4 of resolution 44/51, which urges the Secretary-General to pay special attention to monitoring the security situation of small States and to consider making use of the provisions of Article 99 of the Charter.

SINGAPORE

[Original: English]

[12 October 1990]

With reference to General Assembly resolution 44/51 of 8 December 1989 adopted under the item entitled "Protection and security of small States", the Government of Singapore wishes to suggest that the United Nations Secretariat should study ways of improving the access of small States to the United Nations Security Council in the event of a threat to their security, and the activating mechanisms of collective security under the Security Council.

SOLOMON ISLANDS

[Original: English]

[23 May 1991]

1. Solomon Islands was a member of the Maldives Workshop on the Protection and Security of Small States, held in Maldives from 5 to 6 May 1991, and fully endorses the conclusions and recommendations of the Workshop.

2. The Government of Solomon Islands wishes to emphasize that it is vulnerability and not threat that is of immediate concern to small States like Solomon Islands.

3. When small States can and must ultimately be responsible for their own internal stability and security arrangements both nationally and regionally, they expect and would request some United Nations commitment in matters of global security assistance by activating the "Global Watch" system with some definite special orientation towards small States.

4. The United Nations Secretary-General likewise should be encouraged to pursue the activation of Article 99 of the Charter of the United Nations.

SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC

[Original: Arabic]

[3 May 1991]

1. Given its firmly established belief in the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and in the need for the maintenance of international peace and security and given, further, its commitment to the resolutions of the United Nations, the Syrian Arab Republic reaffirms the importance of striving for the maintenance of international peace and security. The United Nations must adopt such effective measures as are necessary in order to prevent all

actions that might pose a threat to peace and security, to put an end to aggression and to eliminate occupation and other practices which disturb relations among States and constitute a violation of the principles of the Charter and of the resolutions of the United Nations.

2. The Syrian Arab Republic alerts the United Nations and the international community to the need for adherence to the principles of the Charter, for the scrupulous implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations, for the repudiation of the use of force to resolve problems between States, for the adoption of the principles of the Charter and of international law as a basis for relations among States, for an endeavour to be made to support and develop friendly ties, while stressing the principle of non-interference in internal affairs and rejecting the acquisition of territory by means of force and the fait accompli, and for the application of the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter to the aggressor and to States which disregard the principles of the Charter and refuse to implement the resolutions of the United Nations.

UKRAINE

[Original: Russian]

[4 April 1991]

1. The inclusion and consideration at the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the item entitled "Protection and security of small States" were, in the view of the Ukrainian SSR, topical and timely. The course of events in 1990 and such an overt act of international piracy as the unprovoked Iraqi aggression against Kuwait and the annexation by the aggressor of that small neighbouring State provide graphic demonstration of this fact. This crude infringement of the sovereignty and independence of a member of the international community and the concomitant attempt to deal a blow to the new equitable world order now taking shape, affirming as it does civilized relations between States and the primacy of universal human values, once again demonstrate that, even in this post-confrontation era, the international community must not relax its vigilance and efforts to strengthen international peace and security.

2. The need to ensure the protection and security of small States, as recognized at the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly, thus becomes even more topical and urgent.

3. The Ukrainian SSR, in affirming its support for General Assembly resolution 44/51 and its desire to help ensure the resolution's implementation, fully endorses the resolution's call for the Secretary-General to pay special attention to monitoring the security situation of small States and to consider making use of the provisions of Article 99 of the Charter.

4. With regard to the ways in which the resolution may be put into practice, account should also be taken of the broad range of proposals contained in the Soviet memorandum entitled "The United Nations in the post-confrontation world", which was introduced at the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly. The Ukrainian SSR is convinced that, if these proposals were implemented, the United Nations effectiveness as a universal guarantor of international security would be substantially enhanced. These steps would of course also help to solve the problem of ensuring the protection and security of small States.

5. One of the measures which, in the opinion of the Ukrainian SSR, would constitute an effective contribution to the fulfilment of that objective and in whose application the United Nations has already accumulated a wealth of experience, is use of the peace-keeping operations mechanism. The nature and character of such operations could be determined in each specific case, bearing in mind the particular features of the situation in question. Operations would be launched at the request of small States on the basis of their agreements with the United Nations and in accordance with a decision by the Security Council.

6. The Ukrainian SSR believes that, once guarantees of security and - if necessary - requisite protection were obtained from the United Nations, a whole series of countries could rid themselves of their heavy arms burden and use the resources squandered on such arms to solve their socio-economic problems. All this would help to enlarge the portion of the world in which peace and stability prevail.

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

[Original: Russian]

[13 March 1991]

1. The Soviet Union considers that in order to ensure the stability of the positive changes taking place on the international scene, it is necessary to undertake efforts to establish a sound structure for general security in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and based on strict observance of the generally recognized norms of international law, a balance on interests, morality and recognition of the freedom of all peoples to choose the path of their development. The main component of such a structure should be the United Nations, whose machinery makes it possible to coordinate effectively efforts to find the best solutions to global and regional problems with the participation of all States without exception, large and small.

2. The Soviet Union supported the inclusion in the agenda of the General Assembly of the item entitled "Protection and security of small States" on the initiative of Maldives, a country which was the victim of an invasion by mercenaries in 1988. This question has become particularly relevant under current circumstances where in certain regions of the world attempts are still

being made to impose diktat and interfere in the affairs of States, particularly small ones, through the threat or use of force. Such facts indicate that the transition of the world to a new qualitative stage has not yet been completed. Although the threat of a global conflict has been averted, there is still the danger of "small wars" and regional hegemonism.

3. The dangerous development of the crisis in the Gulf convincingly underscores the need to combine the existing global and regional security structures and in the future, possibly, to establish further structures of this type. Joint action by them in tackling the problems that arise would make it possible to focus efforts on the search for effective ways to ensure the security of small States and in general further deepen and enhance the process of creating a new world order.

4. Increasing the effectiveness and concerted action of the Security Council, first and foremost its five permanent members, has special potential in this regard. The Soviet Union believes that in making use of acquired experience it is necessary to adapt further the activities of the organs and structures of multilateral diplomacy to the tasks of strengthening regional security and to work out real guarantees ensuring independent development for small States. The set of proposals to strengthen the preventive capabilities of the Security Council and the United Nations as a whole and utilize them for preventive diplomacy to avert conflicts at their initial stages appears very relevant in this connection. Devising measures to ensure the timely identification of "hot spots" and the establishment, under the auspices of the United Nations, of a system for the early prevention of conflicts could help solve this problem. Such a system might include the establishment of a multilateral centre to lessen the danger of war and, in the long term, of similar centres at the regional level, particularly with account taken of the experience acquired within the framework of CSCE; setting up United Nations observer posts in explosive regions and sending fact-finding missions to such areas; and organizing the collection and analysis of comprehensive information on the development of situations, including the use of the latest technological means for such purposes.

5. These measures could be supplemented by setting up within the Security Council a group of experts on steps to be taken in emergency situations connected with the mass taking of hostages, terrorism and actions by mercenaries. The Council could probably also consider the question of using United Nations forces in accordance with the provisions of the Charter in order to react speedily when the security of small States is threatened. The further expansion of the sphere of application and the preventive capabilities of United Nations peace-keeping operations would serve these purposes.

6. In devising a set of practical measures to counteract acts of aggression, the work of the Military Staff Committee, including the consideration of questions relating to the maintenance of the security of small States, should be made truly relevant.

7. Regional organizations, whose efforts would be based on the experience and support of the United Nations and its peacemaking mechanisms and would also supplement their work, should play an essential role in setting up a reliable system of defence around small States. In this regard, it is important to broaden the concept of the four long-term parameters for multifaceted cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations and make use of Chapter VIII of the Charter regarding regional arrangements.

8. In general, the Soviet Union believes that the idea of considering in one form or another within the Security Council the range of questions concerning ways to ensure the security of small States, including the establishment, when necessary, of a special committee to study this question, deserves attention.

9. The approach to developing a stable model for the security of small States must be multifaceted in nature and take into account such aspects as the just settlement of economic and ecological questions, ensuring the safety of individuals and observance of human rights through accession by all States to the international agreements adopted in this field and also the further development of international law in this regard.

10. The course of events in a number of regions of the world has repeatedly demonstrated the tragic consequences that result from the arms trade without corresponding means of international control. The national security of small States can become particularly vulnerable also as a result of activities linked to illegal drug trafficking - a problem whose solution ought to include greater use of the Organization's potential.

11. The Secretary-General, who, in discharging his duties under the Charter, has the right to take the initiative in promoting the maintenance of international peace, could also play an important role in questions relating to the security of small States. Consultations between the Secretary-General and the members of the Security Council, the holding of which is referred to in General Assembly resolution 44/51, can certainly be useful in working out general approaches to the protection and security of small States.

12. In the political and legal field, acts of interference in the affairs of States, including, of course, small countries, must be opposed through broad use of the provisions of the Declaration on the Enhancement of the Effectiveness of the Principle of Refraining from the Threat or Use of Force in International Relations, the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of their Independence and Sovereignty, the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes and other documents expressing the collective will of the Members of the United Nations.

13. In the opinion of the Soviet Union, the preparation of a wide-ranging and comprehensive study within the United Nations on the question of the protection and security of small States would promote the thorough consideration of the issue.

14. The Soviet Union believes that the implementation of the various proposals to ensure the protection and security of small States will naturally require in-depth study and detailed work in the framework of efforts to establish a new structure for security and cooperation based on the Charter of the United Nations. The Soviet Union is prepared to engage in an active dialogue on these questions with all countries concerned.

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND

[Original: English]

[16 April 1991]

1. The Government of the United Kingdom adheres strictly to the principles of territorial integrity enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and attaches the highest importance to the security of small States. It considers that strict adherence to international law is the most effective means of preserving and enhancing the security of small States.

2. As part of its policy of enhancing the security of small States, the United Kingdom provides financial assistance to the Regional Security System in the Caribbean. In addition, the armed forces of the United Kingdom, acting under the authority of Security Council resolution 678 of 29 November 1990, contributed to the successful liberation of Kuwait.

ANNEX II

Replies received from international organizations

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

[Original: English]

[30 August 1990]

1. Although ILO has no direct competence for strengthening the security of small States, it fully supports the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations in this respect. It also stands ready to provide whatever assistance member States, large or small, request of it in its sphere of competence.

2. Since social tensions can be destabilizing factors which indirectly endanger peace and security, the activities of the International Labour Organisation directed at the protection of workers' rights and the promotion of social justice could be of some importance for building up the foundations of peace and security in small States. It could thus complement the political action directed to the preservation or restoration of their security, which properly belongs to the political organs of the United Nations.

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

[Original: English]

[18 September 1990]

FAO would like to inform that General Assembly resolution 44/51 has been examined by the technical division concerned and that FAO has no comments to offer.

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

[Original: English]

[23 October 1990]

1. General Assembly resolution 44/51 appears to be concerned exclusively with the question of external threats and acts of interference in the internal affairs of States. While UNESCO has a responsibility in this area in so far as its Constitution recognizes that "the defenses of peace must be built in the minds of men", its concerns extend to an even wider field, including the environment, population management, human resources development and social and cultural coherence. Even small adjustments in any of these areas have been known to have a dramatic effect on micro-States.

2. UNESCO has recently established a Unit for small States with the purpose of assisting them in improving their participation in the activities of the Organization. One spin-off of this action should be greater resilience on the part of the States concerned in the fields of UNESCO competence.

3. UNESCO would be ready to enter into consultation with the United Nations on further measures in which the Organization might be involved in the implementation of the resolution.

INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION

[Original: English]

[7 August 1990]

While the subject is not directly in the field of competence of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), it does seem very appropriate to mention in this regard the ICAO Aviation Security Programme to which the Assembly of ICAO has accorded the highest priority. Of particular relevance in the context of assistance to small States is the recently established mechanism for technical, financial and material assistance to States in the field of aviation security. This mechanism, which is financed by a funds-in-trust system of contributions from States, provides assistance to States that so request in improving their aviation security and also provides for a programme of aviation security regional and subregional seminars and for training fellowships.

WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

[Original: English]

[15 August 1990]

While WHO does not have a direct concern in this matter, we thought it might be useful to forward a copy of World Health Assembly resolution WHA42.24, adopted on 19 May 1989, which refers to the embargo on medical supplies for political reasons, and the resulting effect on health care. The provisions of this resolution may be particularly applicable to small States, vulnerable to external threats.

"THE EMBARGO ON MEDICAL SUPPLIES AND ITS EFFECTS ON HEALTH CARE

"The Forty-second World Health Assembly,

"Mindful of the principle contained in the WHO Constitution stating that the health of all peoples is fundamental to the attainment of peace and security;

"Reaffirming resolution WHA41.31 on the embargo on medical supplies and its effects on health care;

"Recalling the decision of the eighty-first session of the Executive Board regarding the effects on people's health of withholding medical supplies;

"1. Confirms resolution WHA41.31 and the principles laid down by the Executive Board's decision EB81(3), rejecting any embargo on medical supplies for political reasons, on account of the effects on health care of such an embargo;

"2. Appeals, in the spirit of paragraph 4 of Article 2 of the United Nations Charter, to all Member States of the United Nations to abstain from aggression and the use of threats in their international relations, including threats against medical centres and medical production plants;

"3. Urges all littoral Member States to refrain from imposing restrictions against movement of medicines, medical equipment and pharmaceutical raw materials across national borders of landlocked countries."

INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATION UNION

[Original: English]

[12 October 1990]

Although this matter does not fall directly under the mandate of the Union, it is the conviction of the Union that the existence of good and secure internal and external telecommunication systems (including sound and television broadcasting) would, to some degree, enhance the security of such States, for example, through early warning and facilitating immediate calls for assistance from other States.

WORLD METEOROLOGICAL ORGANIZATION

[Original: English]

[12 September 1990]

We note the information contained in General Assembly resolution 44/51 and will provide assistance, as requested and as appropriate, to small States when called upon, within the fields of competence of WMO.

ANNEX III

Final recommendations of the Workshop on Protection and Security of Small States, held in Malé, Maldives, on 5 and 6 May 1991

(as transmitted by the Government of Maldives)

A. International security

1. The Charter of the United Nations contains many Articles which, if effectively implemented, would enhance the security of small States. In particular, Members of the United Nations should facilitate the implementation of Articles 39 to 51 (Chapter VII) designed to deal with the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression, and make every effort to enhance the effectiveness of the Security Council.

2. The Workshop endorsed the view that there is a need for consistent implementation of all United Nations Security Council resolutions without exception.

3. The Secretary-General should play a more active role in the spirit of Article 99. In particular, he should, in cases of incipient and low-level security threats, consider responding positively to a request from a State feeling itself under military threat from another State, for a mission to its territory. Alternatively, he could send a personal representative or an official of the United Nations Secretariat to obtain a firsthand assessment of the situation.

4. Serious consideration should be given to the establishment of either a permanant or an ad hoc United Nations force that may be activated under Chapter VII for international security needs.

5. It would also be worth considering the establishment of a United Nations force of a rapid response nature which would be under the direct control of the United Nations Secretary-General to be used to meet the security threats of small States at their request. The activation of the force could be at the initiative of the Secretary-General in consultation with the Security Council. The stationing of the force should be constantly reviewed by the Security Council. The force would consist of paramilitary personnel provided from the regular armed forces of various countries, including the small countries, on a voluntary basis. The members of the force would be trained in wide-ranging skills under the aegis of the United Nations at various military institutions of high repute. The Secretary-General should be empowered to initiate consultations with interested countries.

6. The Security Council should consider providing collective security guarantees to small States in appropriate circumstances.

7. Bearing in mind that a sizeable number of the States Members of the United Nations could claim to be small States, the Workshop urged that:

(a) The "Global Watch" facility should focus on the security problems of small States;

(b) The Secretary-General should consider the feasibility of establishing a unit for the study and coordination of activities relating to the protection and security of small States.

B. Regional security

8. Regional security measures have proved to be quite successful and effective in some parts of the world and, where appropriate and applicable, may be encouraged. This should not, however, be a substitute for possible United Nations action. The United Nations should explore measures that could facilitate action at the regional level in accordance with Chapter VIII of the Charter to enhance the protection and security of small States.

C. National security

9. The Workshop recognized that the question of national security is a responsibility to be borne by the nation State itself. There is no substitute for building the internal resilience of small States. Many small States, however, have inadequate resource endowments to undertake their own defence needs effectively. Moreover, many of the threats to national security may have an external origin. Examples of these problems are found in:

(a) Dealing with the international drug network;

(b) Policing of the territorial seas and EEZs;

(c) The problems of piracy, mercenaries and terrorists.

The Workshop advocated enhancing the capacity of small States to deal with these problems through greater exchange of information, adequate surveillance capacity, provision of training and appropriate technical assistance, including suitable technology and equipment.

10. The Workshop urged States Members of the United Nations to ratify the International Convention against the Recruitment, Use, Financing and Training of Mercenaries.